taboo between him and his daughter. The nubile fiancée then lives with her mother in complete seclusion for an entire month. This is the kuingisha chisungu, literally, to make certain of the marriage-ability. The girl's mother ceases to wash and bathe herself [kuoa]; the girl stops shaving her hair [kubea].

The Menstruation Dance. [Kuimba chisungu]. This phase is also called the kufumie chisungu, which means in honor of the nubile maiden. Ordinarily this ceremony takes place in June or July, when the "eleusin" [Translator's note: raggee, a cereal grain] is ripe. This is a time of plenty and beer. The kinswomen of the young girl invite the nachimbusa (the female director of this ceremony). As a token of the invitation, they give her a present [lusomo], such as a chicken, for example.

From the moment when dancing in honor of the nubile girl begins, all sweeping of the hut must cease, and only the throwing of ashes [mito] into the mupunda (space between the door and the hall on the left of the entrance) may take place. The women then go to fetch the nakalamba, whose task it is to invite the other women to come and dance, sing and beat the drum. She is not shaved and must be white with dust [abuta tutu]. These are the words she uses for the invitation: "Companions, help me in my task" [Bamayo, ngafweni ko mulimo]. All the women assemble in the hut. The director [nachimbusa] is the one who gives the sign for the singing to begin. Everyone falls in with the refrain by beating the drum or dancing. The nachimbusa, who also dances, is clothed in a genet skin and wears a tuft of feathers as head-gear. She sings: "Chimbusa chikulu chienda ne ngala" (I am the director who walks with her head covered by a tuft of feathers). The dance begins at about sundown and ends towards dawn. The songs for this dance are extremely varied, some innocent and praising, others equivocal and often obscene. They dance like this for an entire month. Food is brought in daily in order to give strength to those who are dancing.

The Beer. After the month of "menstruation dancing" is over, the local beer is prepared in large quantities. It is offered to the fiancé's mother. Early in the morning after the night when the beer was prepared, the [214] women flock to the fiancée's house for the mbusa. They split into two groups; while some go to fetch white clay (mpemba) others gather fire-wood (nkuni).

Ku bea (shaving). Then razors are brought in to shave their hair. 585
The nachimbusa shaves the wife, the shibukombe, the husband. They [302]
are then annointed with oil for the great mashikulo ceremony.

Mashikulo (Presents and Instructions). Preparation. A mat is spread 585
out on the square, on which a small seat /chipuna/ is placed with a child, a little boy and a little girl, sitting on either side. These two children hold up the little seat with their hands. A parade hatchet /sembe lya mbafi/ is also brought.

The women fetch the wife /nabwinga/, who is dressed up, from the hut and place her on the mat. The men fetch the husband /shibwinga/ leading him by the arm. He sits down on the chipuna next to his wife and between the two children /nshindishi/. He holds the hatchet in his hand. The nachimbusa takes a bow and places it on the wife's legs. Then shouts of joy are uttered by all the villagers, and everybody exclaims: "Bashichisungu bafuma." Everybody gathers together.

Recommendations. The fiancée's father steps forward holding an arrow 585
in his hand, and addresses his daughter with the following words: "My 837
daughter, I give you this man, whom you have known, the one who comes to you at night /kuirwa/ is this man; it is bad for the wife to go to other husbands at night /kuirirwa/.... do not cast your eyes upon other men." He then turns to his son-in-law and says to him: "You are my son-in-law, I recognize you, you are the one who has married my daughter." He then stabs his skin slightly with an arrow shouting: "If anyone takes advantage of your wife, you will kill him and he will be unable to defend himself." The chieftains will declare him a "ngulube" who died because he wanted to steal. "Tatusamba nweno shibili" (One does not wash two wedding vessels), i.e. marriage is one [581]
and indissoluble.

Then it is the turn of the wife's mother to step forward and give 581
advice: "My daughter, be faithful in working for and obeying your 585
husband." She then turns /pindulukira/ to her son-in-law and says to him: "Take care of me and also your wife, do not cast your eyes on other women. The husband must keep his eyes on the road where his wife treads.... /22/ if he notices that she is late in coming, he must go to meet her as a sign of conjugal love."

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

282
291
142
285
415
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Rainy weather. The girls of the village off to gather mushrooms.
Men make the carrying-baskets.

[facing p. 42]

2:Richards, E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

[facing p. 146]

Women hoeing up an old millet garden before sowing.

Mound cultivation. Men hoeing up new ground into mounds.

142
241
291
302

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

[881] roughly tied, and they were made to crawl a few yards in this position. Then the branches were pulled off again and piled into a heap about two feet high. The girls were told to jump over it. Both scuttled across the open space like frightened rabbits to the accompaniment of screams of encouragement and threats from all around. ('Don't tremble!' 'Don't be frightened, you silly girls.' 'Jump now! Jump high.') The girls were evidently nervous to a degree, and one failed to manage the moderate jump expected and had to try again and again. When both the girls were over, [302] there was an outburst of congratulation. Nangoshye rubbed red cam wood (*akula*) on the faces and shoulders of all the older women present and on me as the giver of the chisungu. This red powder used to be rubbed on returning warriors and men who had passed successfully through the poison ordeal; and it is still daubed on lion-killers.

[482 576] Nangoshye picked up her paternal niece and carried her across her back, and the other girl was shouldered by her own father's sister. The two old women led the procession back to the village carrying the girls shoulder high as chiefs or brides are carried as a sign of honour.

> '*We have dragged a heavy stone down from the hills*
> *We have brought it in.*'
> '*The skin of the leopard which makes you cry,*
> *We have dragged it and dragged it;*
> *We have brought it in.*' (No. 3.)

('The chisungu has fallen off.' 'Yes like a stone.' 'The red powder is the blood.')[1]

Arriving at the village, we crowded into the chisungu hut again. The girl helpers picked up the big drums and the characteristic chisungu rhythm rang out. As the initiation candidates were hustled into the hut, the women broke into another song calling on the people to look at what had been brought in. (No. 4) 'I have

[1] *Subsequent Bemba interpretation.* The heavy stone is the weight of the chisungu. (A.C.). It means the difficulty and hardship she will have to go through before reaching maturity. They have passed through danger. Therefore they are marked with red powder like the lion-killers. The leopard skin makes the girls cry. (The leopard skin was worn by *banacimbusa* in old days and therefore represents authority.) The leopard signifies the hardship the girls will have to face.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

unalterable prerogatives of age. As a man's arm-pit can never be higher than his shoulder so the younger can never be more important than the older.

Preparation of the emblem bundles

Bundles of domestic emblems were now made up. These consisted of things commonly used in daily life—firewood, salt, meat, tobacco, the various seeds used in cooking, red cam wood powder, twigs of trees with magic properties and particularly of the woman's trees (*mwenge*, *mufungu* and *musuku*).

There followed an interminable series of songs. The initiation candidates hung uncomfortably from the branches of the tree, while beneath the emblems were offered, taken in the mouth and honoured by each of the women in turn, the company singing over and over again:

> '*Let me pick it up*
> *Let me pick it up with my mouth.*
> *My mbusa.*' (*No.* 14)

At last, the girls were brought down from the tree and with five or six of the younger helpers they were told to lead a round dance. They were shy, tied and awkward, and the dance went lamely. It was evidently important, however, that an impression of jollity should be given for the older women sat round them screeching vehemently, 'Rejoice, can't you? You girls, why can't you manage to rejoice?' Asked why this was necessary, Nangoshye said shortly, 'They must do it for respect.'

The mock bridegrooms

It was now between one and two o'clock, and we turned to go back to the village. As we went, two women dashed across the front of the procession shouting. They had armed themselves with toy bows and arrows and had tied twigs round their heads. They had leaf cups similar to those of the fish trap ceremony hung all over them. They were shouldering a long sapling on which hung a piece of ant-hill to represent a load. They had stained themselves all over with the red powder.

These were the sisters of the bridegrooms and they were greeted

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

were serious and interested, but I could not interpret it fully. I was told it was to teach the girl not to pretend to be thirsty when she had already drunk. The spraying of saliva in the air is the usual Bemba way of asking the blessing of the ancestors.)[1]

A small hollow was then cleared in the wet mud and Nangoshye balanced herself on both elbows over it, swinging herself to and fro above the muddy pool.

The women sang:

'*Following the ways of God*
We imitate our mothers.' (No. 27)

(The details of this ceremony are obscure to me. Nangoshye explained that she swung over the hole in the mud to 'imitate our mothers who bore us' and implied she was representing the act of birth. She also said she was teaching the girls how they were to bathe in the river during menstruation, that is to say, apart from others so as not to contaminate the stream. P.B.M. referred to the song sung at the same time as meaning 'Sometimes we do not follow Lesa (God) but follow our mothers.' This seemed to be an explanation of a Christian type, but the idea of the passing down of tradition and the passing down of the child from the womb seemed to be implicit. A.C. writes: 'It is our duty to follow God, to pass on knowledge as we had it passed on to us. We make you a mother as your mothers were to you.')

The *banacisungu* were then pulled forward. Their clothes were kilted round the waist and they were pushed into the muddy water and thoroughly splashed all over. Then they were washed, cleansed and covered over body and face with whitewash. The white clay was brushed on with meticulous care with a grass brush. A lump of black mud was put cross-shaped on the head of each girl and decorated with the usual pumpkin seeds and red dye. Their heads were then covered with a cloth and, still with down-cast eyes and apparent embarrassment, they led the procession back to the village. The women sang:

'*We tracked a lion in our garden and reported it,*
The hunter has not forgotten.' (No. 28)[2]

[1] *Wilaba cilaka nga amina menshi! awikasakaminawa!*

[2] *Subsequent Bemba interpretation.* (A.C.): The ceremony is like the spots of the leopard which never change or are forgotten.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The Ceremony

881 They also sang again and again a song about the white egret (No. 48) as they surrounded the whitened forms of the girls and danced them back to the village.

As we came near the houses men sitting in the doorways of their huts lowered their eyes ostentatiously as we passed.

We assembled at the initiation hut and began again songs and offerings of respect to the *nacimbusa* in order of precedence. All the relatives in the hut were touched with white clay. The girls were then led to the house of the village headmen who 'spat the blessings of the spirits' on them, (*ukupala amate*).

[302] (This ceremony, literally 'going to whitewash', seemed to be thought rather romantic and interesting by the women. They referred to the girls throughout in an almost sentimental way as English women speak of the beauty of brides on their wedding day. 'We make the girls white. We make them beautiful.' 'We make them white like egrets.' 'Yes, they are white now from the stain of the blood.' 'It is finished now, the thing that was red.')

[783 789] The *ukuya kumpemba* seems to mark a definite stage in the ritual. It is a rite of purification from the menstrual blood and a form of beauty magic. It is followed by the second calling of the blessings of the ancestral spirits.

FIFTEENTH DAY

The shelter and the screen

881 342 Nangoshye and a few helpers went out in the middle of the morning to collect stout logs in the bush. By the early afternoon I found them hard at work setting a grass roof on five strong uprights to form a small shelter of the type commonly found in Bemba villages. The supports and roof were covered with clay and the whole stuck with the inevitable beans, pumpkin seeds, red cam wood and white flour. On top of the roof a stick was frayed out to form a plume, or *ngala*. The whole erection was described as an *nsaka*, or a man's shelter, or an *nchenje*, the special term used for the shelter built by the head army captain in a chief's village. This was a place of protection, a spot where the soldiers gathered together in the evening.

(The symbolism was rather obscure, not only to me, but also apparently to many of the women engaged in making the shelter.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

[881] The branch was then stuck in the ground and bent over to form an arch while the *mwenge* branch was crossed over it at right angles to form a double hoop, known as the *mupeto*. Everyone was now animated and interested, even though it was about one o'clock and they had had no solid meal during the day. The *mulombwa* bough was brittle and broke, but the company waited for the best part of an hour for a new one to be found, and they waited in the best of spirits, laughing and talking of this and that. The hoop was apparently to be set up for a trial jump to see if the girls could clear it. This they finally did.

The return of the lion killers

In the meantime, Nangoshye and some helpers had been to look [824] for a heavy log of a third tree—the *kabumba*—which represents a lion, and was throughout described as the lion. The two girls again knelt holding it on their shoulders, and again the older woman [535] offered the *mbusa* to it one by one with endless singing, drumming and dancing. Finally, Nangoshye danced up to it brandishing an axe tied round with leaves as was done in the old days when a lion had been killed and purification of the lion-killers took place at a chief's court. The effect of this solo dance was electrical. The company shouted and danced and broke into the famous song:

Kakoshi sompa! Cilipi! Cilipi!

that used to be sung by lion-killers and also by a man who had had his eyes put out for some offence and was made to come and do obeisance to the chief who had given the order for his punishment.

The return to the village was uproarious. Each of the *banacisungu* carried one of the hoops of the *mupeto* with the two ends lashed together to form a hoop. The log lion was balanced and carried on their shoulders. Nangoshye and the older *banacimbusa* brandished axes and hoes, running and shouting all the way. At the entrance to the village the girls were covered with a black cloth and the rest formed into some sort of a procession. The older ● [302] women and I were daubed with red dye and castor oil. The oil melted the red powder in the sun and a single spot spread to make a great crimson splash on the side of the face, so that we must have had an uncouth and eerie appearance. In fact, some of the younger girls, mission-trained, began to look embarrassed and to refuse to

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

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302

Nangoshye putting white-wash on the girls

Girls covered with white-wash

[facing p. 113]

(See pp. 88-9)

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Bemba FQ5

mother is very careful about this in preparing his food lest he die in consequence. He henceforth bears his man's name, and it is an insult to use his child's name again. V 551 881

Initiation of girls takes place in much the same way, instruction being given by the old women. After initiation most girls wear a string of big blue beads round the neck. In some cases, where it is not convenient to go far into the bush, a patch of bush near the village may be selected, the approaches are carefully guarded, and pieces of calico on bamboos are used as flags to mark the place. V 881

Namwali ceremony witnessed at Kasanka's village (Awisa tribe) August 30th, 1907:—A girl about fourteen years of age, well developed. Among the Awisa the initiation ceremony takes place when the girl has reached puberty and is ready to be married. Four days are spent by the candidate in a small grass hut built in the middle of the *bwalo* (= village open space), when instruction is given her in all her future duties by a woman who is her "friend," in this case a woman of about twenty-six years of age. B 881

About mid-day of the fourth day she was brought into the *bwalo* wearing old calico round the waist, and with two friends, one on either side, danced a kind of shuffling step backwards and forwards to the time of four drums; it was witnessed by the women of the village, who occasionally joined in the dance. After this she retired, and later in the afternoon reappeared with blue calico from waist as far as knees, white calico tied round waist as a sash, a rope of blue beads round neck and under arms. On the head she wore an erection made of flour and water with a B [535]

B [302]

FIG. 1.

central crest into which were stuck little pieces of reed, lines of red were painted on the white ground as shown in sketch. Always supported by her "friend" or "sponsor," she again danced for a few minutes and then departed.

This night about twelve midnight *Zingau* was to be danced; all the evening and up till midnight a boy went round and round the village calling in a shrill voice warning none to approach. It was a very dark moonless night, and to the beating of seven drums (four small, two medium sized, one big) the *Zingau* came into the *bwalo*. One was an elephant 8 feet high with a man in each pair of legs—made of grass, trunk and tusks complete; the other, called an *Nswala* (a small antelope), resembled a dwarf jack-in-the-green more than anything else. The elephant pranced, the *Nswala* spun round and round; each was attended by a man with a B [534]

B [778]

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao
Bemba FQ5

rattle who ran in front of it, and by whom the *Zingan* made appearance of being
881 baffled. The performance was witnessed by a circle of women and a few men. When the moon gave evidence of rising the figures disappeared.

The following morning the girl was again brought to the *bwalo* about 11 a.m.
302 and seated on a mat between her "friend" and her mother, while the women
881 danced to the time of seven drums. Her head was anointed with water and shaved, the process was started by a woman and then finished by a man, apparently the village barber; the left side of the head was shaved first. The mother was shaved by a woman at the same time.

While this was going on, presents were being made—maize, beads, a chicken,
[431] tobacco, bracelets, etc. When the shaving was finished several women came and spoke to the girl, after which she was taken away for the bathing in the lake close at hand, returning about 1 p.m. in new blue calico from waist to knees with white sash, the body well oiled all over, to the time of one small drum played by an old man; then, supported on either side by two "friends," she waited a few moments
881 while several women did a few shuffling steps, she then advanced alone and did a
[535] few steps. She then made a present of a chicken and tobacco to the drummer, and then to her father, kneeling to each. Again she danced alone, running to and fro

[532]

FIG. 2.

and spinning round quickly. During this time two masks, the *Sanchuna* and *Nkolola* (Fig. 2), appeared and mixed with crowd, danced about and made funny remarks; they went up to the girl and performed a kind of *danse-du-ventre*.

After thus dancing in the village she goes round to the houses of all her relatives, beginning at her father's house, and repeats the dance together with addition of a little *danse-du-ventre*, the masks (*Sanchuna* and *Nkolola*) go round with her, her immediate attendant being always her "friend." This night and the next day she spends in the house with her friend, the evening of the next day she goes to a
[836] separate house arranged for, and has to have coitus with a man who is asked to oblige; on emission taking place he has to withdraw in time, and the semen is collected on a cloth which has to be seen by the women. The following night she
[584] goes to the house of her betrothed to live with him; she has probably been betrothed since she was an infant.

About the *Sanchuna* and *Nkolola* I could learn nothing. These men wore
[532] masks with calico covering the back of the head and neck, a kilt made of strips of leopard skin and grass bound round their arms and legs.

introducer of *Butwa* throughout these parts, and his name is famous in many a *Butwa* song."(1) Membership was open to all, irrespective of age and sex. The Ant-hill clan was particularly closely associated with the society. Refusal to join on the part of either of the spouses was a valid cause of divorce. A higher grade of elders (*mangu(u)*) in the society was constituted by members of both sexes who wore a special dress, bore special names and claimed to possess supernatural powers. Sessions were held annually or at longer intervals. The candidates, who had to pay an initiation fee, were given the *chibolo* concoction to drink and were paraded under an arch of bent saplings before entering the temple where sexual intercourse took place. Later they were given fetish horns by the elders of the society. Painted in stripes and smeared with white chalk they participated in the all-night dancing (imitative of the movements of the crested crane), the beer-drinking, and the festivities which followed. A good deal of sexual licence was allowed within the precincts of the temple. Members were bound to assist one another in sickness and need and were forbidden, under penalty of death, to divulge the society's secrets. *Butwa* performed fertility rites; it wielded considerable political power, so that the chiefs had to treat it with respect. It was feared by outsiders who charged it with terrorism and robbery. Special funerary ceremonies were performed at the death of members. Members of *Butwa* used an esoteric language, *Bubendo*; this was an argot formed by transposing syllables, changing initial letters and introducing obsolete words and compound metaphorical expressions. *Butwa* songs were sung by women members to the accompaniment of *chansa*, a musical instrument resembling the guitar. Apparently still flourishing in the first decade of the twentieth century, the society is said to have since died away.(2)

575 [586] [786] [302 535] [786] [766] [198] [525 534]

Blood-Brotherhood

Blood-brotherhood pacts were contracted between the natives and the Arab traders.(3) A marriage with a native girl, presumably a maternal relative of the blood-brother, was a usual concomitant of the ceremony.

608

Guilds

Occupational guilds were known in the Chishinga(4) and Aushi country where iron-ore smelting and iron-working were hereditary crafts surrounded by a wealth of ritual. It is likely that they also functioned in the Luapula valley while the industry was alive, though no mention of this occurs in the available sources.

467

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The Kazembe was formerly an absolute overlord, subordinate in name only to Muata Yamvo to whom he continued to send annual tribute.(5) Lukwesa Mpanga did not send any for three years. When several of his subjects were killed or savaged by wild animals this was interpreted as a punishment for his neglect. He made amends by sending a convoy with slaves, salt and copper.(6)

643

(1) Campbell, op.cit.
(2) Brelsford, 1, 1946, p.14.
(3) Livingstone, II, p.258.
(4) Brelsford, 3, 1949.
(5) Valdez, II, p.174.
(6) Pogge, 1880.

5:Slaski E-4 (no date) 1950 FQ5 Bemba FQ5
Luapula Peoples

South Africa Company and were given courts in 1924. 622

LEGAL SYSTEM

In the past the judicial officer at the capital was the Muaniancita.(1) An appeal from his decisions could be made to the Kazembe.(2) The *mwafi* (poison-cup ordeal) was administered to the accused man by his nearest relative.(3) The penalty for witchcraft was always death.(4) Adultery, homicide and theft were punished by death, amputation of limbs or genitals, or sale into slavery.(5) Travellers commented on the number of natives, even among the court officials, with mutilated hands and cropped ears.(6) Within the *cikota* homicide seems to have been compoundable. 681 [732]

LAND

The conquered Shila continued to be recognised by the Lunda as the owners of the land, and were consulted when fresh land was wanted for settlement. At present all suitable land in the immediate vicinity of villages is under cultivation but there remains a sufficiency of uncultivated land farther away. 311 423

SLAVERY

Slaves, sold to Arab and Swahili traders, were mostly recruited from among convicted criminals.(7) Livingstone gives this as the reason for Manyuema's reluctance to purchase Kazembe slaves.(8) 567

OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS, DRESS etc.

"The people are black, dolichocephalic, woolly-headed, thin-lipped, of medium stature."(9) The intermingling of tribes has tended to eliminate differences of physical type. Facial scarification and tattooings, once distinctive tribal marks, have become mere fanciful embellishments. Chipping of the upper front teeth is now rare. 141 142 304

On ceremonial and ritual occasions in the past the body was smeared with *mpemba*(10) (a white chalky substance extracted from the river bed) and the hair, worn long and plaited or made into a knob,(11) was powdered with *nkula* (reddish wood-dust).(12) Rubbing earth on arms and breast was a token of the respect due to chiefs.(13) The dress consisted of a bark-cloth skirt, *nyanda*,(14) or a cotton loin-cloth.(15) 302● 291

(1) Gamitto, II, p.18.
(2) ibid.
(3) Holmes, p.55.
(4) Burton, p.129.
(5) ibid, p.40.
(6) Livingstone, I, p.248.
(7) Livingstone, I, pp.302-3; II, p.62.
(8) ibid., II, pp.28, 35.
(9) Valdez II, p.241.
(10) Burton, p.103; Gamitto, I, p.307.
(11) Livingstone, I, p.263.
(12) Burton, p.82.
(13) ibid., pp.45, 112; Valdez, II, p.227.
(14) Valdez, op.cit., p.219.
(15) Burton, p.127.